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According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

[114]

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar
/Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The
Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Āitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Āmâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184
643

Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihāggaren.

Among the Ioullimiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed
in household work and in keeping the herds.

• 114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,

565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more
curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of
the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord,
p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the
marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier
believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that
the Inislmen of the Xjjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This
is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable
under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad
has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by
Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary
[42] mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdalen of /169/ the Aïr and the Abogheliè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imôchar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

[757] In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[752] surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
[465] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

Tobol of the Tāitok

631 The Tāitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Téghé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tāitok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
as the Imenān sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other
part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aīr where the stock /souche/
still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tāitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihāggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live;
our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the
beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign
country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the
Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by
setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
631 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
643 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
[121] division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
175 which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/
by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tāitok are bound by numerous
marriages and are all more or less cousins.

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
 793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifōra who nomadize in the Tēmaçinine (Fort
 Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable
 relations with the Ihāggaren and the Kel Ājjer, but these relations
 are very few and far between and have no political or religious
 character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihāggaren.
 Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Tēmaçinine, near
 which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
 178 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihāggaren or Ājjer, who pass near this
 787 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on
 the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the
 Ihāggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of
 them are Ifōras.

631 The Ifōras are under the administrative control of the Ājjer
 annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ājjer
 than of the Ihāggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifōras-oui-n-Oukkīren

Ifōras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of
 espousing the cause of the Oūraren, while the third was attached to
 the Imenān sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
 533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
 631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited
 making noise. (1) Now the Ifōras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those
 who are attached to the amēnokal," just as Iklān-en-Tāousit (of the
 Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes"

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol. "
533
631

At the present time these three fractions number about 150 people.

[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[51] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

264
[415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271]
272 For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

[757]
[78] For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner: they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

[177] Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

• 114
276 Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

[114]
276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[431] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acidity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

[177]
276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harim. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are

[273] customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [325] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

301 This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer
 114 Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature,
 for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure with-
 out shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.



Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow
 by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from
 ATr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori
 region.

171 At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people
 who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live
 in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.

172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples,
 301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper-names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-
Français des noms propres /Short
Tuareg-French Dictionary of
Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. [145] While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

000 In the third century B. C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hooara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114
175 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr. / reaching the High Plateaus

114 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only
175 was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta
/Syrtis Minor? Ed. / region and some Getulian tribes as well.
However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on
Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether
the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality
of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular by the
community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of
Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered
thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/
adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed
to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then,
are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters
of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of
Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not
been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote
nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did
not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make
it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached,
Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained
pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27;
VIII, loc. cit, Mésnage, Le
Christianisme en Afrique
/Christianity in Africa/, vol. I,
p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under
Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were con-
verted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded
a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never
was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But
was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the
favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that
the conversions which it caused were especially political and were
made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently
without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas,
only as long as political interest remained in agreement with per-
sonal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en
Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century,
while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that
this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.

[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The
cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry
has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be
found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do
with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
[142
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples,
but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg
by themselves alone.

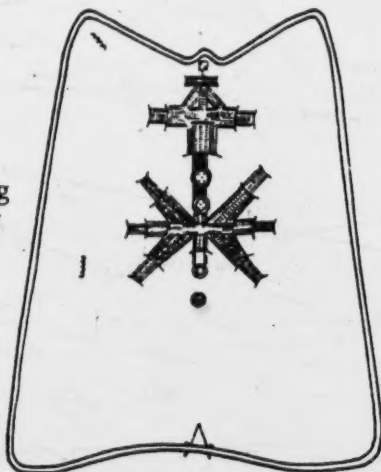
175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian
nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the
Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then pro-
fessed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples.
Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take
root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic
and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

[714
281]

Fig. 58. Tuareg
buckler made of
oryx antelope
skin.



411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of
the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imôchar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders,
and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank
than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still
carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr
one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But
in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy
cases.

[Pp. i-xii, 1-82 not processed]
[P. 83B]

THE TUAREG

114 Most of what has been written about the Tuareg is of very little value for the purposes of modern ethnological study. Much of it is merely superficial and more is the result of serious but amateurish work by men who were often enough sincerely dedicated students of mankind, but whose great enthusiasm could not make up for their lack of that broad yet specialized professional grounding without which no one is fully equipped to analyze socio-economic patterns of human communities, however simple they may be.

This may sound like an unjustly harsh and pretentiously stuffy statement, but it is not. What fever-stricken soldier in his right mind would go to the colonel's office for medical attention? What farmer would take a broken-down tractor to the village minister to be repaired? It is an inconvenient fact that highly specialized work can be well done only by people with sound professional training or great experience, preferably both; but this simple fact has been ignored all too often in ethnological research where there is no compelling force like commercial competition to make it obvious. Ethnological research in the Sahara Desert has suffered grievously as a re-

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal-feet (see table A-2).

114
515 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration. Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalric tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

●114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blangueron (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Air.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest.

[161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Air and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatrout, 166 westward to a bit beyond a line running from 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Air and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916-18 rebellion, a great wave of Air Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taitoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, a).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.¹³ The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are disappearing fast.

614
565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

● [114] ¹³ Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908,
 173 pp. 90, 102 and 222-23), Lhote (1955, pp.
 234-36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52-55)
 614 all agree in lumping most of them together
 in a special almost tribelike class known as the
 Issaquamaren, but they do not agree entirely
 on just which clans should be included in this
 group. According to Benhazera the Issaquam-
 aren once claimed descent from a woman pur-
 chased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by
 Arab invaders who came there straight from
 Mecca about the middle of the 7th century
 A.D., and he adds that they are thought to
 have moved northward to the Touat early
 in the 12th century. The first part of this
 tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab
 schools of historical fiction, or fictional history
 if you prefer, which are often no more
 reliable than is the modern school of lecturers
 who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are
 descendants of veteran crusaders who came
 to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel
 that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure,
 but there is much more in it than just an
 amusing coincidence. It is a striking illustration
 of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and
 Christian alike, are always deeply moved by
 thoughts of the past glories of their race and
 of "that old time religion." We must never
 forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpreta-
 tion that result from the action of this power-
 ful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan
 peoples who have been converted to Islam
 stubbornly insist against all sense and reason
 that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Is-
 soquamaren are believed to be the descendants
 of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the
 Tademaït region, whence they were recruited
 as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar,
 but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they
 are descended from a group of Arab tribes
 of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were de-
 feated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar
 Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before.
 The Issaquamaren have been thought by some
 to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

● (114) unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself
 to filling in small but important gaps in relatively
 complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of
 getting bogged down for months or doing only a
 superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures
 whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Air, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174
● [114] The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan people. Barth (1857-58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediaeval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

[P. 166A]

144 The question of the racial origin of the
Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so
intimately bound up with the problem of their
origin in the broader sense which we have just
been discussing that there is not much left for
us to say about it separately. The learned
144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had
174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions
rest on evidence which is unavoidably
[114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well,
since there is no other kind available at present.
As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc
(1928-29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly
spectacular but risky sport of skating over
such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter
who the dreamer may have been. We are al-
ready in substantial agreement with the opin-
ion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg
came into the Sahara probably from the North
and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

11. "Djer mouhadén," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also [177] called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحي, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place.

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177
212

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salâkh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

Part Two

The Tuareg in their Public Life

Chapter I

Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114
565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit^[114] myself simply to noting some observations which I was able⁵⁶⁵ to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed," that is to say, "he lacks something" ^[96] and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race¹⁷³ than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro¹⁷⁴ race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the⁵⁶⁵ Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehe-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot⁵⁶⁵ bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word⁶³¹

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tiousse," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [426] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Ta'toq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Ta'toq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Ta'toq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Ta'toq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Ala
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Altar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from
the caravans
2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour"
camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari
of his own
3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a
half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the
mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114 ●
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

Should one see here some agreement with what we have¹¹⁴ read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among⁸²⁵ the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which²⁶² is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this⁵⁶⁵ abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables:⁸²⁵

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit

[539]

Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among^[231] some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Aziouel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpréter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg like all the Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. Ed. / was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

262
565
825
773

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
 131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
 162 dominated by the Tuareg is between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or
 major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000-300,000 individuals, their negro
 slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel
 Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3%
 of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The
 Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than
 20,000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

• 114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own
 field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in
 Ahaggar), and 1954-55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent
 about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and
 adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar,
 but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up
 also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
 [12] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive
 material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the
 Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropol-
 ogical school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from
 whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen
 interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis
 Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social
 anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies,
 and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning
 Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from
 various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carls-
 berg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejse-
 legat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant
 without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(P. 67)

on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1950 & 1951-52):- 104
212

Tuareg Letters (Tifinag)	Transcription And Value in Arabic Letters	Notes
ⵍ	b ⵍ	
ⵏ	ch ⵏ	
ⵐ	d ⵐ	
ⵑ	q ⵑ	Emphatic
ⵒ	r ⵒ	
ⵓ	s ⵓ	Hard
ⵔ	t ⵔ	A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l.
ⵕ	h ⵕ	Aspirated
ⵖ	l ⵖ	Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant.
ⵗ	j ⵗ	
ⵘ	k ⵘ	
ⵙ	g ⵙ	
ⵚ	hh ⵚ	Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription k [114]
ⵛ	l ⵛ	
ⵜ	m ⵜ	
ⵝ	n ⵝ	
ⵞ	h ⵞ	Foucauld 1950 does not mention this letter [114]
ⵟ	ou ⵟ	Consonant or vowel as for l mentioned above
ⵠ	r ⵠ	

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. [196] [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europeans and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud (*tajahant*) so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanel. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wheels (*tanout*) from which water is drawn by zebu (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling (*adamous*) and a square hut (*ekher*) covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanel take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [44] [74] [567] [67] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] [567]

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45 - Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *A:ben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] [563] [601]

24/ culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a *thong* (*tagounit*). It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture established by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. - Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him as an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elagesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:- millet is cut with a knife, 24/ maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat 171 and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can [415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphorae used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. - Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:- While the negroes of Ahaggar apparently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

Tuareg Invasions into Air.

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. - Gsell 1920-28, I-VIII - Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138-1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; [114] 1928; 1936. - Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. - Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. - Palmer 1936. - Urvoy 1936. - Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zazaoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zazaoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdaalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result [614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamaḡou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

Ibrasouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Arimbalou* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damerrou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damerrou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aoudjila (Aoudjila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aoudjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aoudjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania (Urvoy 1936, p. 130). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Rela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

• 114 Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north.
 174 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitok clan of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. - Urvoy 1936, p. 150. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitok of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenrasaten and the Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraren.

173 It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Rela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Rela had many quarrels with the Taitok and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitok it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Rela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

174 We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

The Sultanry of Air.

The Agades Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agades Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agades which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1906a, p. 102, 364f., 409. - Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amankal* - a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Fourcauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Fourcauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amankal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1935, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1953, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amankal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practice the Sultan had little power. The Agades Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

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[533] Fig. 4.—The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. — The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *effebel*, or *arazon*. The name of the drum
631 *effebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is addressed by this
very word, and *effebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command.
I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat,
the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs.
There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of
Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is
described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the
Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres
asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with
mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permis-
sion was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more
[114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of
election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important
drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the
ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the



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Fig. 5.—Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

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Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif.

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In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing

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[114]

[text continues on p. 87]

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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Ifadeyen (a clans)			Kourouboho Imechamclouan Torouf Beinabo Ti-n-Dacouine Anialen Abelenna Ekaouel
Igetofen			
Iraouelen			Tombalaga Akadane Meigaouei
Elbaraten			Onouachor
Itagan			Edeleg
Isakaranen	633 107		Ti-n-Tebezzin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1300	They may be noble by origin.	Talak Ourarene Zourika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibarochiten clan as their particular vassals.	Ti-n-Teborak
Ibarochchiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Emdegra

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.

- 114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie
have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. - Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers
twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
124 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. - Richer 1924, p. 3, 32) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1935, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhôte, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhôte 1935, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Perouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law (*alegges*, pl. *ilousan*),
 [601] or sisters-in-law (*aleggest*, pl. *tilousin*), while the spouses of descendants of all
 [606] brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law (*adeggat*, pl. *idoulan*), or
 daughters-in-law (*adeggalt*, pl. *tedoulin*). These terms are always used reciprocally,
 and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
 to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
 [687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
 not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
 114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
 Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
 thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
 the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The Kel
 Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
 was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
 are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
 to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
 to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
 clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

634 The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
 614 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
 565 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
 had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
 [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
 however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
 chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
 and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
 wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
 Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

[669] A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
 had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
 Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
 565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather
 very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal
 clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and
 Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say
 that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may
 also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
 [463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and
 Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
 [701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers
 and protectors.

● 114 Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals (*Imghad*)
 565 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— "One of the functions
 614 of the *Imghad* is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the *Imghad* act as
 the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a
 whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on
 the tribe and not on any one *Imghad*. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
 [422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals
 dying whilst under the charge of the *Imghad*, the latter are collectively responsible
 [672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p.
 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
 [562] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own
 information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to
 by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
 able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herds-
 men of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural
 distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much
 about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin.

174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
 565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
 614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a,
 p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge
 about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the
 north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already
 before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the
 noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan
 Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the
 Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg
 have emigrated.

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar - like those of Air - have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*lesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for: 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence: - A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1935, p. 279). Killian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Killian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1933, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent (*chare-n-amerdal*) paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

- 1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.
- 2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.
- 3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. - Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1935, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).
- 4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

Ahaggar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities (*ediet*) among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100-150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 334). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiousse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiousse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temazlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 34). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 7th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Houara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533). 565
192

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imyad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1933f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *eyrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imyad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan. [114]

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233]
[721]

The Ahaggar Tuareg - in contrast to the Tuareg of Air - have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. - Reygasse 1950, p. 88. - Foucauld 1951 - 52, II, p. 533ff. - Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. - Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isbeten lived. This tradition 173
565

Aggar

173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

114 I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
[234] ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:- 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25-30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post - that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

[614] These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[173] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. - Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. - Lhote

1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. - Foucauld 1931-32, I, p. 247ff. - Moberg 342
1947, photographs p. 229 & 237). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts 184
are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among
the Kel Tedale, the Ikakazan, and the Kel Fadel - Tuareg who have immigrated
fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin.
Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947,
fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. - Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 6a). T-shaped posts are
also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the
Kel Dinnik (Eastern Sullemedea) from where detailed descriptions are given by
Nicolas (Nicolas 1936, p. 34ff.; 1930a, p. 133ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern
Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in
skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered 171
as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Fellberg 1944, p. 143). This is 342
interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Fellberg's theory that 233
there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-
humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and
because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa
about the beginning of the Christian era (Fellberg 1944, p. 117, 223ff.) - a view
which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944-45, p. 260). Obviously a theory
connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our [174]
assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among
whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black
tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:- 1) The theory that T-shaped posts
of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents,
and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern
Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived 171
from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:- 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents.
It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg [648]
(Zeltner 1914, p. 364. - Campbell 1908, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, [114]
however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some
Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they
occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the
religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents
seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with
Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not
in ordinary camps (Delafoe 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by
a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with
Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

a) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for [71] important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 342 [192] 227f.).

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:—"Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs nouveaux maîtres: au VIII^e siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 216. - cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925-26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. - Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. - cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:— 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau appa-
raissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant
l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs
tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe,
il semble qu'au VII^e siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement
que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chamé-
liers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui
fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group
and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several
Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I,
p. 168ff.).

175 It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
233 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
(Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. - Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. - Leo Africanus p. 940f.).

To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also
superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and
on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very
different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as
mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds ap-
parently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the
heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I,
p. 415f. - Murray 1935, p. 92ff. - Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[177] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another
[342] breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As
I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many
customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African
cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. - Henskovits 1926. - Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following: - 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their
[825] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently character-
[538] ized by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans
Pritchard 1940. - Foucauld 1925-30, I-11).

174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggam* (*Ahaggar*) is perhaps derived from *Houara*,
 [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
 tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Houara Berbers were originally
 Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
 ● [114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
 states that the Houara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
 of the pastoral Houara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
 later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the
 Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of
 the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from
 Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political
 systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among
 whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Mazabtin alsagan*
 171 because they pay *sadaqs*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the pri-
 565 vilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day
 have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to
 perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949,
 p. 53).

The word *sadaqs*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of
 a chief, and the very important word *effebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and
 in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
 174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
 10)

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133

/12 cont. / Beyond any doubt the country was destined to fire the imagination. This mass of mountains, rising below the northern Sahara, appears closed and hostile.

The deep gorges which traverse the tassilis /mountains/ are the doors to a region that seems to isolate itself from the world.

Leaving these somber gorges, one enters a domain of stone. Rocks are encountered in the strangest forms imaginable; there are immense domes of granite surging from a sand plain, or monoliths standing like a forest of dolmens; there are curious fissile schist formations, which seem like the leaves of some monstrous book. This landscape continues over hundreds of kilometers, unveiling a desert nature which adorns itself with the most extraordinary rock forms.

But the strangest is yet to be seen, the heart of the country: each valley there is an enigma; the volcanic crags which border the ravines seem to menace the intruder who dares to violate this domain.

The soil shows hues going from a delicate yellow to black, streaked with violet, green, blue, or pink veins. Jagged and smooth boulders pile up in indescribable chaos, and immense stretches of black and swollen stones seem to come from some devil's caldron.

114 The inhabitants once seemed to be as mysterious as the country which sheltered them. Their tall stature, their proud and disdainful bearing, and their faces veiled by the blue taguelmoust /veil/ were so many factors to stimulate the imagination. Stories circulated throughout the Sahara vaunting the warrior virtues of the Tuareg, their courage, their cruelty joined to a /13/ chivalrous sense of honor. They were, for some, the last of the Atlantes, for others, ancient Franks, whose sword in the form of a cross symbolized the lost faith.

However, little by little, explorers, administrative officers, scholars were to bring things into focus and to show the Ahaggar as it really is.

• 114 /13 cont. / The first clarification in the general knowledge of the region came from the reports of Barth and Duveyrier. Then followed the scientific works of Flamand, Maire, Reygasse, Kilian, Monod, Lelubre, Bordet, Follot, Dubief -- who laid the solid foundations for as exact a knowledge as possible of the country and its people.

The linguistic work of Father Foucauld portrayed in remarkable fashion the Tuareg and their language at the time he knew them.

Many explorers, notably M. Lhote, have left precise observations joined to personal impressions of the country.

Finally, the novel has spotlighted the Ahaggar, and for many of the French, L'Atlantide, that delightful fabrication by Pierre Benoît, furnishes the picture they have of the country. The last books of Frison-Roche also deserve a great deal of credit for the tourist movement which has begun to the Ahaggar.

Morphology and Relief

133 The mountain system which constitutes the Ahaggar seems, at first view, to lack coherence as an entity; its form is better seen upon closer examination. In order to have a schematic idea of the system, one can divide it into three large concentric zones: a central core, a peripheral trench, and the outside belt of tassilis.

In the center of the Ahaggar is an almost circular massif, a sort of plateau with an average altitude of 2,000 meters, spiked with peaks reaching nearly 3,000 meters: this is known to the Tuareg as the Atakor (skullicap). A rocky spur projects toward the north: this is the Tefedest, which reaches /15/ 2,327 meters with the Garet el Djenoun at its northern extremity.

Around the central core, a sort of circular depression, varying in altitude from 500 to 800 meters, forms an almost perfect crown in which rise, here and there, granite crags of volcanic remains.

312 /29 cont./ shallow wells are found in agricultural centers; generally, they are upstream from the rock shelves. The water is drawn by men or, most often, by an ox, in which case a rudimentary scaffolding supports a pulley by which a goatskin full of water may be drawn up and dumped into a basin by an ingenious system.

The last method used to tap underground water is the foggara, called by the natives the "efeli" (plural: "ifelan"). The foggara is used only to irrigate gardens; we shall see how it works when we study agriculture.

Flora and Fauna

137 The flora of the Ahaggar is more varied than that of the northern Sahara. The work of M. Maire constitutes the basic study one should refer to for information on the spontaneous vegetation. The list of plants given in the appendix was established by questioning the Tuareg in order to learn the varieties most often encountered. Very incomplete as far as herbaceous vegetation is concerned, this enumeration includes the vast majority of trees growing naturally.

• [114] There is no forest in the Ahaggar. However, information from the Kel Immidir Tuareg makes it possible to suppose the existence of a wooded stretch in the Ifetessen massif, a region still not thoroughly explored in its entirety. Perhaps it may merely be a case of wadis covered with a particularly luxuriant vegetation. In the Ahaggar almost all the flora grows in wadis. A few plants also grow on the most watered high summits, and, at the time of particularly propitious rains, the regs are covered with patches of acheb /pasturage/, which resemble a thick, sprouting beard.

The distribution of the spontaneous flora in the Ahaggar obviously /30/ is related to the climatic zones we have already discussed. There are some plants which are peculiar to a specific zone, while there is an interpenetration of most of the other vegetation.

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taftoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrit"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

● 114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

114 /60 cont. / It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar," for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

212 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that
194 it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tiffinagh."
There are 25 tiffinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

□	○	B	...	Q
⊖	⊙	CH	::	KH
Λ	V	D		L
Ξ	E	D(strong) ⵢ (ar)	⌈ []	M
⌈	⌊	I	I	N
⌘	⌘	G	:	OU consonant
⌘	÷	DJ	○ □	R rolled
	⋮	H	⋮	R
⤴	ⵍ	I	⊙ □	S
	ⵊ	J	+	T
	⋮	K ⵓ (arak)	Ξ E	T (strong) ⵔ
ⵢ	= Z (soft) {As in} <u>rage</u>		ⵢ	= Z (strong) {As in} <u>zero</u>
•	= vowels	: A, E, e	ou	i

Table of tiffinagh letters.

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition,
described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in
a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution
à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution
to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the
infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is
becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They
remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on
plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see
Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt
camel fat with the tafnoust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot
as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy,
taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a
great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say,
40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjellé.
Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in
preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad
taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under
the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them
lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method,
more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it
on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and
powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one
meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in
it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an
infusion of otaq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja
exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating
rheumatism.

Preface

In this book I aim at the combination of historical and functional methods of anthropology to analyse the development of Tuareg culture with particular reference to food-producing activities. I do not, therefore, present all my Tuareg material. 121

My general anthropological outlook is doubtless largely due to my training under influential scholars of historical and functional methods. I was introduced to historical methods at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, who taught with that caution and sense which must be the foundation of all anthropological science. His strict demand that anthropology must proceed on the basis of knowledge forms the most valuable part of my whole anthropological training, and for this I express to him my sincere gratitude. 114

I freely admit that I am much attached to the traditional methods of Danish anthropology. Among its scholars I am greatly indebted also to Professor C. G. Feilberg with whom I have a large field of interests in common. From the very day I began my studies in Copenhagen he offered me all possible help in discussing with me the major problems of cultural history in the Near and Middle East, and in Africa, and using much of his spare time to teach me Arabic. His detailed study on the black tent and its history forms an important cornerstone for my chapter on Tuareg tent development.

When I began my studies in Copenhagen Professor Feilberg acted as curator in the Danish National Museum where, like other students of these days, I was generously helped by the curator, Jens Yde - my closest friend. Though his main field of interest is the Indians of the Americas, he has also a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of African cultures. I hold in very high esteem Mr. Jens Yde's scholarly realistic outlook which has been extremely stimulating to my own work. I express my gratitude also to Dr. Helge Larsen, leader of The Ethnographical Collection of The Danish National Museum, and to the curator Mr. Werner Jacobsen.

My interest in functional anthropology dates right back to my University years in Copenhagen. For though Danish anthropology is in the main historical, it was Dr. Birket-Smith's demand that students should read the important works of such functional or social anthropologists as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, Evans-Pritchard, and others. But most knowledge I have of functional anthropology came to me under a two years' study, granted me by The British Council, at The University College London with Professor C. Daryll Forde as my principal teacher. I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude for his unusual kindness and valuable help during my stay in London, and for his readiness to consider any problem in the light of his very deep and versatile knowledge. In this book I acknowledge his clear view of the problems connected with the development of food-producing activities advanced in 1934 when many scholars were shooting in the dark.

[p. vii]

[p. vi is blank]

114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In
 [12] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys
 122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond*, *Carlsbergfondet*, *Rask-Orsted Fondet*, *Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Pre-history in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical specimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954-55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig. 122

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen. 127

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerely my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helback of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases. 114

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-ichlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

Copenhagen, June 1963

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

[p. ix]

Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945-46 I journeyed on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finnmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa.

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Nail*, the *Larba*, and the *Suit Otha*; and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Ibrahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa.

- 114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
 121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. - Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

- 114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May-September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
 122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Lghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanrasset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter
 124 to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanrasset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following centres of cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics
 121 and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected.
 126 I left Tamanrasset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

- (4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this mountain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tassile-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanrasset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Ahurhar and across the Tassile Mountains to Elézi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urafen*. I stayed in Tassile-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
 121 short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the *Kabyle*, the *Chawiya*, and the *Ajjer*
 126 Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

- (5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenakal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalea and Silet -
 121 apart from Tamanrasset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made
 126 an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanrasset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

Field-Work

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954-55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hamnu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Jakkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytak* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanfaset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rall* and the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukul's* camp. I also had a house at Tamanfaset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rall* and the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribes. Apart from Tamanfaset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-umensef, Ennedid, Iglen, Abulesa, Amsel, and Targhawhawt. — On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanfaset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Taghut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelman*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Ikkoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Ifernan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Ifozas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojfejtten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Asarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Asarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Ifozas*, the *Ikojfejtten*, the *Kel Tumat*, the *Igen-*

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101 deïnen, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and
 114 spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp
 122 of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight
 and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left
 Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a
 [126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively
 long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not
 afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological
 objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North
 Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was
 a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and
 arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi
 and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able
 to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and
 by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We
 went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Teggha-n-tésemi*.
 We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-ubanperit, then going eastwards across the Talak
 Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through
 the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance
 to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr - a
 region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of
 Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of
 [121] *Iregaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Téghé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps
 [123] I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. - Shortly after my
 return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well
 from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately
 to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest
 of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to
 the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother
 and I made a camel journey westwards to *Tegidda-n-tagayt* and *Tegidda-n-edrar*. In these regions we
 visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and
 we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We
 also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at
 the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen
 [126] by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection
 [127] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular
 subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political
 systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

Field-Work . Literature

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bella* and Tuareg of the *Western Inllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Takabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bella* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition. 101
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Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists - mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranging from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live. 114
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The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Mulet-themin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the *Agadez Chronicle*, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlf, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Inllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg, with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

114 the Tuareg of Ahaggar who were also visited by other scientists and explorers. The most important work on these Tuareg is the great dictionary edited by Foucauld, who lived several years in Ahaggar until his death in 1916. Later works are those of Lhote and Blanguernon. From the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer literature is scarce, but recently good studies on them have been published by Dubief, who has also contributed to our knowledge of the Ahaggar Tuareg. From Ayr we have one early book by Jean, who is often unreliable, while the later book by Rodd contains much valuable material. More recently our knowledge of the Ayr Tuareg has also been extended by the studies of Lhote and Nicolas. The latter author has published a good survey of the tribes and groups inhabiting Ayr and adjacent regions, but Nicolas' most important studies deal with the *Iwlemmeden Kel Dennek* around Tawa. Our knowledge of the south-western Tuareg along the Niger and around Timbuktu (the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram* and the *Kel Tademakeri*) is unfortunately very sparse. There are only two books to be mentioned, namely those of Aymard and Richer. As to the Tuareg north of the Niger in the mountains of Adra-n-Foras, they have been described by Cortier, and there is no other important work about them.

Very recently our knowledge of the Tuareg has also been increased by important works dealing more generally with the Tuareg or with particular aspects of their culture, e.g., the works of Lhote, Gabus, and Briggs. But none of these authors has tried to describe in detail Tuareg social organization. Nobody but Miner, who writes mainly on culture and social life of Timbuktu, has published a Tuareg kinship system. This system, which is taken down among the *Bella* who are the former slaves of the Niger Tuareg, does not seem to be entirely correct in the sense that it does not indicate the true classificatory terms. I may add that I have myself published one Tuareg kinship system incorrectly, namely that of the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 102). This will be correctly re-published in this book.

Tuareg literature is largely superficial, but there are a few good studies. In some of them you will find information also given in this study. When I mention observations which have also been made by earlier authorities, I do not refer to them in case they may be said to be generally known and made by several authors. Many of the works which I mention in my bibliography are of extremely little value. However, I wish to describe cultural features in detail, and a few interesting notes may be found even in more popular travelling books which are also sometimes furnished with good photographs.

[126] Almost all photographs published in this book are of my own taking or represent objects collected by myself among the Tuareg. Where other pictures are used reference to authorities is given.

Language

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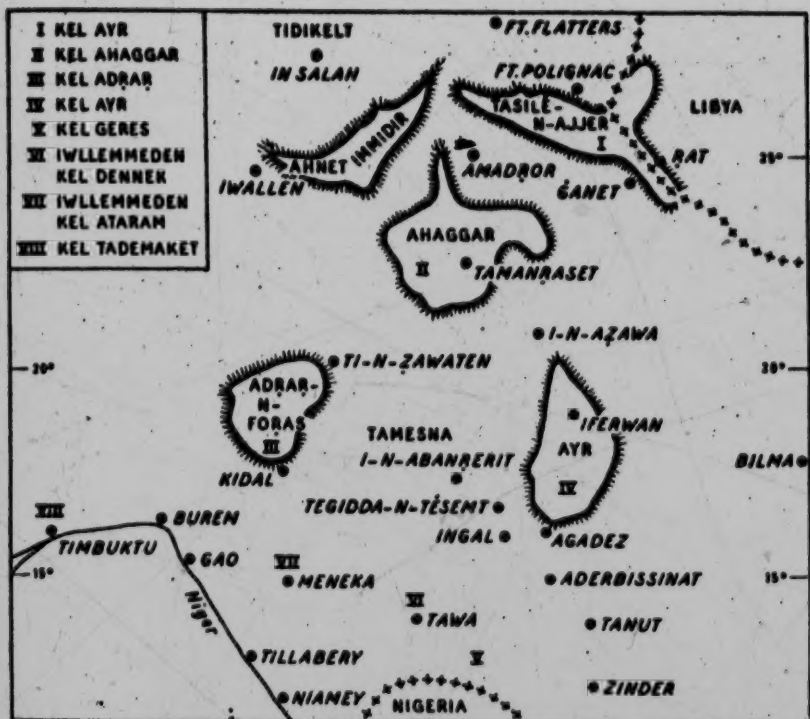


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese desert inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The Kel Tademaket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwlllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasile-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinag* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibli-
ography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158-170, 433), and to the recent and valuable
publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much
has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulnuust* in Ayr)
while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explana-
tions of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions:
the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up
in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will
also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is
definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is
unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may
perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A

[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
"evil mouth" - beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehoq*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.

576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[609] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the
[606] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also
considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg
women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *adulil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men
in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and
both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women

[609] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[606] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head-
cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social
functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at
initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of
various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly
observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg,
and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many
Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and
there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a
man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words.
Gait, gestures, and posture are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement,
and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

Vegetation . Zoology

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tamat, *Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat*, *Tamarix aphylla* & *azawa*, *Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasile-n-~~iger~~. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa*, *T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *aléw* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *aléw* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana* & *tamat*, *A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *aléw* (*Olea Lapperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanferit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. 114

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but 132 136 13

Camel Breeds

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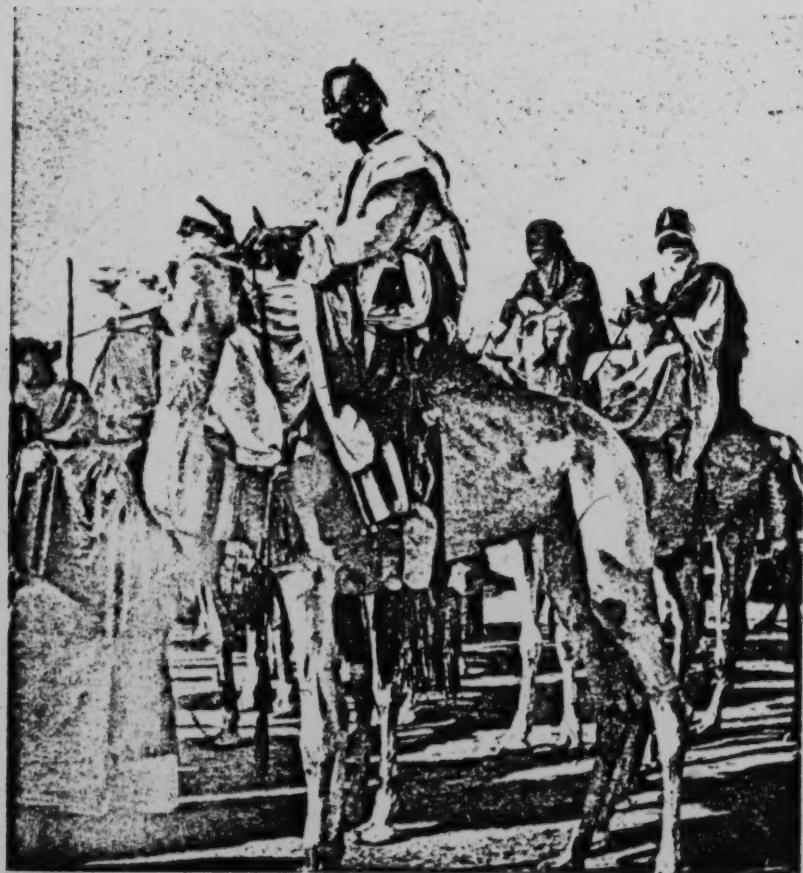
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Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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Fig. 35. A young camel (about 14 months old) sucks its mother before milking. The Tuareg boy bends up the right foreleg of the she-camel and ties it in this bent position to the left foreleg - a method known as *dammell*; it is applied to she-camels that are rest^d during milking. The camel has the colour name *sezeriff*, its big calf that of *ahar*. Ayr, the Imazzeweg tribe.

* 233 (cf. Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 15, 76 ff.). I have inquired about this, and the Tuareg seem to hold that all camels have an identical number of teeth.

(435) One she-camel has only one calf every two years. For this reason, and because a grown camel has about the same value as 25-30 goats, the Tuareg pay much more attention to camel-breeding than to the breeding of goats and sheep.

Most she-camels are mated during the cold season in Ahaggar, while the proper season of mating in Ayr is *akasa* with the beginning of *rarat*, though some she-camels are also mated in the spring period known as *tabsit*. As the gestation period is about one year most camel calves are born during the cold season in the north, in the rainy season when annual plants are well developed in the south. The rutting male camels roam freely in search of she-camels on heat, and a Tuareg may own several she-camels and not even possess a bull-camel for breeding. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr there are Tuareg who try to keep their very excellent bull-camels away from herds other than their own, but this is considered very bad conduct. In fact, there are Tuareg who do not know with which bull-camels their she-camels mate though the act of mating is normally seen and heard by somebody. Mating is also very frequently arranged by the Tuareg who then assist the bull-camel in introducing its penis into the she-camel's vagina. The act of mating may be connected with some difficulty for the bull-camel because the she-camel has to lie down on the ground during copulation.

A she-camel is well looked after during the period it is expected to have a calf. She stands upright while bearing the calf, and the umbilical cord breaks when the calf falls to the ground. The birth of a calf is not always seen by the owners but they will generally be present at least a few hours after birth.



Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied.

Taslit-n-Ajjer.

[234] * 233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*iffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b-e) and are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41-42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ebeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembor*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). — (2) A method which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

Camels . Weaning . Use of Milk . Meat

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). - 233*

(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. - (4) *asebes* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all. [824]

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954-55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinarians, who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.). [433] [272] [262] [302] [415]

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north. [233*] [433] [262]

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit [261]

Camels . Use of Hide and Wool

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinaḡ*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténil*. Ayr, the Imezouag tribe.

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In Ayr the Tuareg do not

use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a-b, 161a-d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasile-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water. but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asapun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a-b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described.

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which

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of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

*Ébeydeg, é si n ami mellen
W-allahi! ideg ul ifel kem*

My white camel, O woman with white teeth
I swear by God, it shall not go raiding,
shall not leave you

Ula dar ikk am akal ien

It shall not go away from you to another
country

U t qinef ar y arabuh ennem

I lead it to the pastures only to visit you
with love again

*Ula tahargit d asemmedren
Innin é ham yekk akal ien*

Neither in dreams nor in thought
Shall it go away from you to another
country

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawo* (greyish with a white stomach), *enrir* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawel* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.



Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Day Zali* tribe.

Horses . History of Breeds

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Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agades. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6467).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Ramses III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen* type known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed introduced from the North — from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adra-n-Foras, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe* type found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) the *Dongolawi* type mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

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Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The *Kel Gerer* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

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Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock-121
breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and
deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they
do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take
an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals.

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint 233*
can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have 232
here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is
regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations
it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of
healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren.
It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats
and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich 551
and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding
Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused
on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however,
that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic
animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature,
and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware 232
that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very
little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build
and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that 171
camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 348). This 104
statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated
that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having
good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they
are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding,
while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the
great value of selective breeding, and said that superfluous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

[p. 117]

232 killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the
 1149 *Iwllammeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late - rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobbled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobbled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strength and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used for camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabst*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of crushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *eddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and bulls. Crushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood - frequently by beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I-II, 1934-1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

Camel Diseases and their Treatment

121

A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows.

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awwas, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

isafadé, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

ajawad, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Cameli*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *abarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin. [P24]

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *gelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *irelenwahan*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *amerwas*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *toza*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. 233*
232

The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). — For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *telulut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaha* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. 232
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From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanés*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

Medical Treatment and Beliefs

125

human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*etheréggele*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasile-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettana* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:—Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers), while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has 643 no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, 1632 will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *chére wa n eſſebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *chére wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may 1854 own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, 1653 e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic unit of closely related stock-owners.

422
* 233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite 1142 to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks 1576 so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their 1602 goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which 422 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark * 233 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe 565 (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a red-hot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebras*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Taslé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uher* tribe (*Isékemaren*).



423 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different
422 rules (cf. list p. 148).
224

423 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for
241 sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the
Dag Rali Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aghu-en-tehlé* tribe the
tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a
crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

665 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
423 dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[428] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the
[643] tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional
rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbery
sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to
[114] forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two
tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

AYR

* 422 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
233 marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[428] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception
of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only
camels and donkeys, and branding with a red-hot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used
for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *djwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the
Kel Geres group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Ilwillemeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and
Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

Hunting in Ayr

165

133



Fig. 117. Fishing pool
(*agelmam*) in Tasila-
n-Ajjer.

- 136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.
- 224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.
- 440 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are
- 224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

Hunting Methods in Ayr. Bow and Arrows

167

catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mettèren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tufunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tufunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Ineggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). 223 252

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *arata* lizard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzaram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthimurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology - the *arata* lizard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 252 232

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 114

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allar*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télék*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with the weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *tarayyé* or *tagahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, *ortinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by 224

[text continues on p. 169]

411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

1529 In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *efezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited *dum* palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals - there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

117 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 ff.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Inedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals within two hunting territories where barbury sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . .	<i>awhim</i>	<i>tawhimt</i>
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	<i>ahyar</i>	<i>tahyart</i>
Fully grown animal	<i>ahenkoj</i>	<i>tahenkoj</i>

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 227
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants 262
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible 114
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In 137
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone,
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

tirfas (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lipplii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 139 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

tahlé (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled.
When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

akeywoḍ (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

téshgelt (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante . . . laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide
sucre qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933,
p. 54).

afezu (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar.
Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick.
The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébk*, that is seeds pounded
in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often 276
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

Irrigation Agriculture in Ahaggar

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Fig. 132b. Cf. text
Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Tafhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar.

The foggara system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tanin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6-12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long.

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the foggara aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

[184]
[476]

433 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthen-
 439 ware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the
 sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

[262] The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of
 Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural
 food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important
 artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet
 and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the
 Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet;
 and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable
 food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these
 vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional
 [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult
 for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I
 [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954-55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the
 Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*)
 possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock,
 and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat
 [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these
 600 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-



Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taziwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taziwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taziwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taziwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*réfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

Caravan Trading of the Ayr Tuareg

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Gerez*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemé though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemé is purchased mainly by the *Jullemmaden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalté*, and others) occasionally go to Amadjor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanrasset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954-55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalté* came to Tamanrasset to sell camels; donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebu, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebu easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Ajjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antipathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I-II & 1853, I-II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 214

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekhemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Táyoak*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Ajjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Every* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[Text continues on p. 221]

Meat

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Fig. 164. Pail (*éfir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Ball* tribe. Ahaggar, *Al Azzi* Arabs of Tamançasset. Dimension: 0.135 m high, 0.230-0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. ^{Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food} 231
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 282
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 285
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept 553
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to 282
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in 565
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ésegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with 142
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65); are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téfir*, *alekkin*, or *salekkin* 4/15 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éfir*) of European origin. Such European pots are 172
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éfir*, were also found among

Bread

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmas*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).

All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ehéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*) and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfet* and is baked



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Fig. 172a-b. Meat knives.

- a. Knife (*izregiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a-b).
- b. Knife (*izregiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imazzurag* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6663a-b).

Stone Work . Pottery

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by blacksmiths (*Ineqen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218 b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a-l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations - the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187 a-b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21 a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202 a-b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in



Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *teqeft* a *efenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aghat-en-ekhid* tribe. Dimension: 8.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isheben* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045-0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-sshid* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
 [53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145-154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507-512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 210a-b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462]

- a. *taklilit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*agum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ber* in Tasilt-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).
b. *adebun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*agum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a-b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50-60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a length of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a-b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

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The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*tedu*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tijrar* (sing. *téjerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a-b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

Spinning and Weaving

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkamuren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry



Fig. 211. Basket (*saggar*) plaited from date palm leaves (*ajum*). The handle is of date palm heart (*azou*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abolena. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

Text continues on p. 269

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arfaq* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 x 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-terhi* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *togua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

● [14] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to

[567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bella* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bella*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du

[294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others

[512] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *ekaratie* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added

that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr.

[Text continues on p. 296]

291 (Phoname, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwllenmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38.7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aq̄lim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*istest*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratinen* (sing. *iratin*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south.

4.8 The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takalmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 314 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *sisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

114 The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 314 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *sisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p. 300]

Sandals

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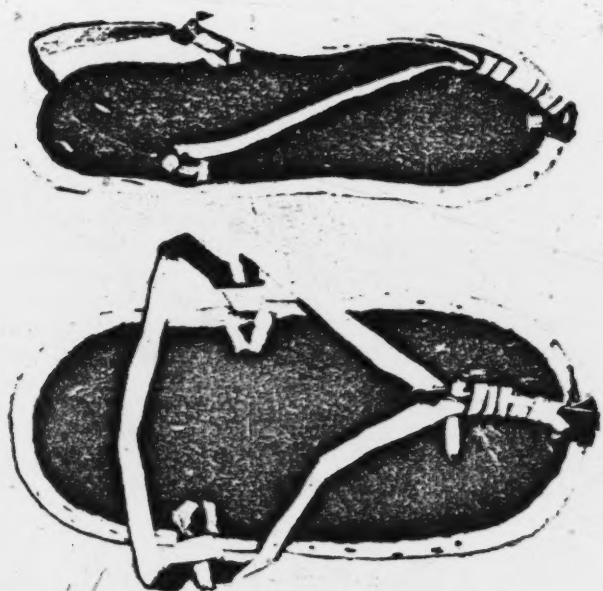
never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tassili-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *takalmit*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *taglezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512-533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *taglezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional-craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south - from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeraga*. - The type of sandal here called *taglezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ifedilil* (pl. *ifedilil*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *efekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *efekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *efekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *imerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *imerked*, and the *efekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *efekil* with *taglezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondence between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *imerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

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[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *okerrege*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. L'*abuheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintées en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *ibouhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioulimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abuheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhudjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iullemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abūzag* (pl. *ibuzāgen*) (Ar. *imāg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form, *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

492 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern
 171 Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigadeau 1945, ill. p. 128-129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50-52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111-112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up
 174 this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory
 114 that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the existence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29-51; 1954, p. 45-87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasile-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébit* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abarul*-method. 174

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Musée de l'Homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbery sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'Homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:—"Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population. 171

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America - the so-called "Sandal System" - consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.). 174

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old 121 122

B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*³⁴² Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons, I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable dwellings of the Tuareg are historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

B.1. Mat Tents

²⁸⁵ *³⁴² Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *dhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 230b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *aslaw*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *daeber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iweweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dronek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a-d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bella* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*³⁴² My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Masaif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebala*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkékkérawat* (pl. *tekkékkérawatin*): The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *i'llisawin* (sing. *i'llisawin*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkékkérawat*, while the two lower arches are called *i'llisawin*. — The curved pieces

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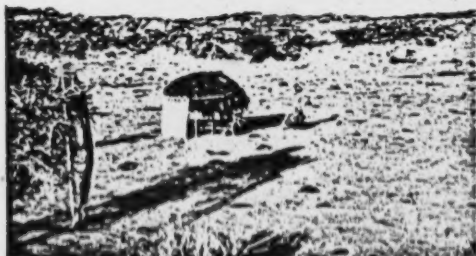


Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

* 342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. Skin tents of arch construction.

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several [14] *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [36] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from *dum* palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[22] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [36] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésem and I-n-abanjerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered [13] *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[82] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

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upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59-65, p. 96-97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwlemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the *Kel Adrar* (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwlemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Adrar* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwlemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05-0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *iregeragaten* (sing. *aregaraga*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tigeffewin* (sing. *tégefewi*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *igetten* (sing. *ager*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30-0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair. [22] [229]

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*igetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tigeffewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair

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Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Iregenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet.

But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanferit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tigeffewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraga*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aget*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

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In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [874] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1933a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle East isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* [171]

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Demek* and the Sudanese *Bella* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afeyu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* [174]

*342
174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches, which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have

114 now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to

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178 Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:-

(1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Jellennicken*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern

150 Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[Text continues on p. 387]

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[72] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammad ag-Kerku* and *Emenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Rali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Rali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much

[55] difficulty. For the word *Esebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Rali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Esebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had

114 a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Rali*
428 tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Rali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imrad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyl* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas

[43] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly

[22] important to the *Dag Rali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Rela* and the *Tuytoğ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyond doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Islamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
 614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
 114 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480).
 My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my
 list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each
 with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past
 are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
 1162 quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging
 from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
 634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
 648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French
 in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
 121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
 634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
 115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum-group
 a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who
 seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly
 correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
 614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
 634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel*
 married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

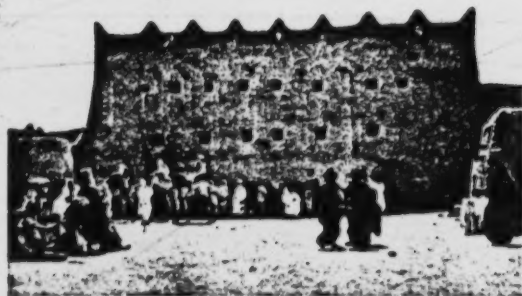


Fig. 283. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agades. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

Political Systems . The Kel Adrar and The Kel Dennek

433

the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoiled were it to be touched by women. 642
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THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Ifoyas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.). 642
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THE IWLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the Eastern *Iwlemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is 642
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634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
 565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
 651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *siuse* (*chiw-se*) from their individual vassals, and
 it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the
 drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious
 one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasir* or *takote* (*takufe*), that is the
 634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
 565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were
 in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that
 the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the
 right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take
 part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels.
 The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-
 booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. - These are the
 main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
 [178] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579-586 & 1950a, p. 188-193,
 [642] 201-209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
 565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
 [179] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwlllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both
 federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant
 noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
 [567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bella*). They pay *siuse* to the noble
 Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of
 the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals,
 but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
 tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
 [612] [646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
 643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have
 the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with war-
 fare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held
 for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). - To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
 [642] [565] [614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak
 tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry
 a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this; but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

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428 The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most dissimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

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643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwlemmeden*, the *Kel Adray*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwlemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adray*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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1141 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.

I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

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586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilineal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother — particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amemkal*. The same practise [278] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

572 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's [42] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

Cross-Cousin Marriage

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The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86). 582
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According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families. 582

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her utmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship. 605
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Tuareg Matriarchate

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenokal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar. 105
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The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg. 178
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We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 37 f.). 174
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Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bella* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bella* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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114 adjustment to special local conditions after their displacement into the Sahara. Murdock accepts this. He believes that the Tuareg, when adopting the very un-Berber caste stratification of the Arabs, may well have instituted matrilineal affiliation for inter-caste marriages in order to preserve their purity of race. He seems to believe that patrilineal affiliation among the *Iwlemmeden* and the *Iforas* is old, while matrilineal affiliation is recent (cf. Murdock 1959, p. 408 f.).

In the main Murdock's theory was advanced already by Gsell, who also stated that the Tuareg constituted the only known example of a people who had substituted their patrilineal type of affiliation with a matrilineal system (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 38). The problems connected with father-right and mother-right in Tuareg society are complicated. It seems as if patrilineal succession among the Tuareg mainly, perhaps exclusively, is due to Arab influence. The existence of a pre-Islamic patrilineal system in the ancestral tribes of certain noble Tuareg can neither be discarded nor confirmed. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Tuareg matriarchate is very old and constitutes the traditional system in vassal tribes. I have shown above that matrilineal succession was once recognized in most Tuareg groups (cf. p. 456 ff.) and that certain vassals of the *Iwlemmeden* even to-day follow matrilineal rules of inheritance.

Briggs believes that pre-Islamic social organization was characterized by matrilineal inheritance and succession to authority, while residence was patrilocal so that the household consisted of a patriarchal extended family (Briggs 1958, p. 87). This is perhaps not very likely for the present custom of ultimate matrilineal residence is undoubtedly very ancient.

I find it adequate to conclude this chapter about diffusion and function in Tuareg social organization as follows:—

Tuareg patrilineal succession seems to be recent and post-Arabian; this holds also for present inheritance rules which follow Koranic law. Thus there can be no doubt that social organization changes owing to the diffusion of certain social traits. Murdock's statement that social traits diffuse only under circumstances where the traits would have developed independently is contrary to the known facts.

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 114 Tuareg. Some people are able to reckon only five or ten years back in time, but there are also Tuareg who can count many years back so that they can determine the exact age of most members of their household. The chronology of Ahaggar years has been studied by Foucauld, who gives the names from 1860 to 1906, and a remarkable study has been published by Dubief (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1538 ff.; Dubief 1942). In later studies on the chronology of the years among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Dubief has shown that there is no uniform calendar for the *Kel Ajjer*. The *Uraŋen*, the *Imanfasaten*, and the *Iforas* have their particular chronologies (cf. Dubief 1948, 1950, 1956). In addition to these chronologies for larger groups of Tuareg comprising several tribes, there are also special chronologies for individual tribes referring to events within these units.

To indicate future events the Tuareg may use the lunar calendar and refer to a particular day (night) of a particular month. They normally count in nights but to indicate the length of a journey they will frequently count in days. The sub-divisions of the day among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr are mentioned in the list below:—

(1) The early morning before sunrise, when one begins to see but does not see very clearly. It is a very short period known in Ahaggar as *ahokhak*, in Ayr as *dengelwak*.

(2) The period from sunrise until 1½-2 hours later during which the sun is low and the heat not very trying. This is known in Ahaggar as *agedelsit semmidet*, in Ayr as *apora*.

(3) The period when the sun is getting high in the heavens. People will now avoid the sun and rest in the shade. The name of this period, which corresponds to late morning or forenoon, is in Ahaggar *agedelsit tekkuset*, in Ayr *agedelchit*.

(4) The period when the sun is very high. It comprises a certain period before and after midday, and is known as *tarut* (Ahaggar) and *terut* (Ayr).

(5) The early afternoon which begins around two o'clock. It is called *tazerrahat* in Ahaggar, *tézzar* in Ayr.

(6) The late afternoon from about four o'clock until sunset is known as *azellewaz* in Ahaggar and as *takkes* in Ayr.

(7) The period of dusk which is known as *almez* and *alméz*, respectively.

For the night the divisions are few and less clear, and it seems as if they are based mainly upon normal activities such as eating time, bed time, and the time of the early morning when it is considered preferable to set out upon a journey.